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"MILITANT ANARCHISM AND SPANISH REALITY"

Reflections On Federica Montseny's Address

SPAIN'S FIGHT AGAINST INTOLERANCE

Individual Responsibility Keynote To Workers' Success

The essence of the political and social events in Spain since July 17th may be described thus: modern life produced societies in which, in spite of much inequality and injustice, a modicum of civic life is possible because a minimum of personal freedom and security from armed oppression are guaranteed to everybody. Fascism is the direct negation of all this, and can only be realised by laying hands on everybody and everything and enforcing dumb submission. A modern State either can deal with such an invasion as it deals with criminal assaults in general, or it cannot. In the latter case it has failed in the carrying out of its principal function and the nation has but two issues to face: **surrender to the Fascist enemy or resistance and armed struggle ending in victory or in death.**

If, as in Spain, it adopts the latter course, and if, as again in Spain, the inner enemy disposes of the resources of several powerful Fascist States abroad, defence under such desperate conditions becomes an enormous collective effort which must create new conditions of social and political life, as the old order has been unable to provide protection against criminal Fascism. Such inevitable changes imposed by the stress of circumstances are necessarily inspired by ideas, sentiments and the will of those who stake all in a heroic struggle against invaders of their homes, and these are the Spanish advanced workers, peasants and all true men and women.

Besides these are generous elements of all countries, whilst the foreign States, hypnotised by the military power of the Fascist States and in disagreement with the local changes in Spain, stand on one side in professed "neutrality," which, under existing circumstances, is all to the advantage of the Fascists, who, as is generally known, recognise no links of promise or treaty connecting them with modern society. The result is that the Fascists ever more have their own way internationally; that they give greater support to their Spanish accomplices and that a new social and political life has to be founded in Spain as the primary condition of enabling the nation to resist the local and the international enemy. It would be asking too much to demand that every prejudice or interest of the lukewarm international "neutrals" should be taken into consideration by people who resist death or slavery by straining every nerve for over six long months.

Why Revolution Failed in the Past.

What else, then, could have happened than what is now called a *Social Revolution*? When the property classes foster a Fascist assault and the strongest portion of the State apparatus, the Army, carries it through, then the people's cause is lost, unless new ways of salvation are entered upon. All the continental outbursts of popular enthusiasm, the so-called revolutions of 1848, were lost because they were unproductive, whilst the French Revolution of 1789, which did not stop at fundamental changes, left its mark in the history

of progress. In an unpublished letter of March 21st, 1909, Peter Kropotkin wrote that "the French Revolution had more creative power than the whole of international socialism during the last thirty years"—referring to those years from the 'eighties up to the Great War, when that Marxist socialism was so predominant in electoral votes and organised memberships, but so distant from any thought of real action.

Bakunin's famous words of 1841, "The joy of destruction is also a joy of creation," gave words to the same thought which inspired Goethe when he wrote: "The old things have fallen, times were changed and new life sprang up from the ruins." Many channels may have been constructed to direct and canalise constitutional changes, but obstructions or other causes burst the sluices and the great current creates a new river. In nature in general, variations are thus created, and under favourable conditions they will thrive and last. We are fortunate to assist such a creative process in Spain, as it reminds the world of how things really happen in social life, as in nature in general, whilst so many were induced to believe that the paltry programs of parties were the infallible and unique roads devised for the march of Evolution—a curious idea, indeed, if we think of it.

Anarchists and Progress.

As a matter of fact, for the last 150 years, only the libertarian socialists, the *Anarchists*, believed in natural progress and abstained from prescribing routes to evolution. Their ideas corresponded best to the sentiment and ideals of a great part of the Spanish people, and so they were the fittest to cope with an authoritarian assault and invasion, that which, for various reasons, Russia, Italy and Germany had not been able to prevent, they stood up against from the first moment—combating and creating, not seeking shelter in the ruins which had just fallen (as so many anti-Fascists of other countries do on the re-establishment of the old system), but resolutely encouraging all new developments and being foremost themselves in laying new foundations. This initiative and intellectual alertness made them the soul of the new evolution. They were the first to leave aside what their own literature had accumulated of well-meant detailed plans and anticipations, but they kept the essence of their creed: **the Anarchist goal of general freedom and solidarity and the educational, voluntary, associative methods leading towards it.**

There is no specialized anarchism now, individualist, mutualist, collectivist, communist, etc., there is just practical anarchism, a multiform conception to which the broad-minded *comunismo libertario* of the last fifteen years was a sound intellectual and moral preparatory step. Proudhon and Bakunin, Kropotkin and Tolstoy, Reclus and Malatesta, men so intimately differentiated among themselves, would all feel at home and made welcome in Free Spain, as would every Liberal, as Pi y Margall or Herbert Spencer.

Federica Montseny.

But let I should present things too much as I see them myself, I will discuss a memorable lecture given on January 3rd before a large audience in the Coliseum in Barcelona, by Federica Montseny, the present editor of *La Revista Ilanca*, the anarchist review founded by her parents, Juan and Teresa Montseny, both active since the 'eighties and still with us in the present struggle.

Born in 1905, she has grown up in these ideas since her childhood, and has always presented them in an enthusiastic, generous and broad-minded, unsectarian, and, as well, in a practical and commonsense spirit. Her mind has travelled in every region of lofty thought, but she has always been in immediate contact with practical life, from domestic and almost agricultural to much literary, editorial and publishing work. She scorns above the petty, pedantic details of the system-makers, and is ready to take a hand in every practical effort. She was the last person in Spain ever to aspire to become a minister, but when the situation required such a sacrifice from her, she accepted, and is now Minister of Public Health and Social Welfare in the Largo Caballero Cabinet of Madrid and Valencia.

Education and Revolution.

In that lecture, "*Militant Anarchism and Spanish Reality*," she first calls attention to the invigorating force of anarchism in Spain which prevented the people from drifting and going to sleep in face of developments which in other countries led to a totalitarian State, to a State absorbing and dominating all economic life, or to new imperialist wars as a last desperate prospective remedy. Spain alone took another course, opposing Fascism by a genuinely Spanish Revolution. Without wishing to exaggerate, this would not have been possible if we had not educated the people in a revolutionary way, in constant rebellion for a high ideal and against submission.

The anarchist ideal, she continues, must be separated from the facts happening in Spain as far as its permanent finality is concerned. The historical situation excludes immobility of anarchist aims and requires adaptation. For if all anarchists, State communists and socialists worked but for the total victory of their own ideas, the front of the struggle would have been broken and the momentary libertarian possibilities destroyed. The anarchists were the first to work in the sense of mutual understanding, of moderation of aspirations, unwilling to foist another war upon the present war against Fascism, which, in view of the support which Germany and Italy give to the Fascists, is a sufficiently audacious undertaking for a poor and almost disarmed people. If we were only to triumph over Fascism our effort and the blood shed would be rewarded. This struggle has a repercussion everywhere and links together the most moderate, but true, republicans and anarchists.

As anarchists, powerful in the workers' movement and morally in Spain, we could have striven for a bold conquest, but we would have been confronted with a difficult international situation and a divided working class. The next way was to fight side by side, but on the margin of the anti-Fascists. This we did, abstaining from imposing our will where we were a majority, as in Catalonia. But it would have left us outside of the final liquidation of the revolution—a dictatorship of a man or a party, right, left or centre; this has happened on

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Law is simply an instrument invented for the maintenance of exploitation and the domination of the idle rich over the toiling masses. Its sole mission is the perpetuation of exploitation.
KROPOTKIN.
(Memoirs of a Revolutionist)

DIPLOMACY AND CONFUSION

World's Proletariat Alone Can Help Spain

The most reliable prophecies taken from international accounts just crumble to the ground. From one day to the next, in the brief period of a few hours, the tape machine transmits contradictory news. The English and French notes and proposals are everywhere in the air. An atmosphere of anxiety is created. The world seems as if suspended by the thread that ties the diplomacy of London and Paris to that of Berlin and Rome. Extraordinary proposals are made; the Press, covered by splash headlines, announcing, without certainty, hope of a solution, the happy arrival of the dove of Peace. . . .

All that whilst the cannons thunder, whilst the German aeroplanes hurl tons of fire and dynamite, whilst Hitler's tanks and infantry try to and that which that scoundrel Franco, his Moors and regular army, were unable to realize. All that whilst the Nazi warships patrol triumphantly in Spanish waters, making piratical ultimatums to the Valencia Government, carrying out a veritable blockade. All that whilst more and more German troops are landed and new war planes follow from Palma and Rome.

The welcome news of the resolution of the American Government to allow the export of war material to the legal Government of Spain is diffused everywhere. This news is followed by the statement that the

Senate has passed a Bill forbidding supplies for us. One talks of the pact in which Italy agrees to evacuate Majorca, and this is also followed by denials. England appears quiet, then suddenly she realizes that not only is anti-Fascist Spain in danger but that her rule of the Seas will soon cease to be. France proclaims that she has avoided a world conflagration thanks to her neutrality policy, and then in that very same France they are afraid of Hitler's proposals. It is the tide of capitalist States which rises and falls, which presents numerous misleading phases, and which always depends on interest, gold and on strategic positions of one and all. It is the vast sea of the world of guarantees, commercial rivalry, plans of expansion, of powerful imperialism, which measures its steps, without worrying one iota for the tragic fate of our people, or the horrors of death brought by the murderers of children, women and aged people.

The truth is painfully obvious. It is worthy of bourgeois "civilization." The truth is that we must not count on anything more than our own strength and struggle by it without putting our hopes in the helmsmen of Capitalist States. The fact is that the only international help must be given by the proletariat of the World. *Tierra y Libertad*, 16th January, 1937.



SONS OF THE PEOPLE

Composer Shot By Fascists

From Burgos comes the news that Antonio Jose has been shot. Jose was the organiser of the Burgos choir and one of the foremost composers of the modern school. One of his Burgos Dances excited great admiration at the last International Musical Congress held in Barcelona.

He was shot for his Socialist opinions, in spite of the efforts made by his old music professor, Pedro Dordivia, who in later years so much admired the works of his pupil that he called himself a disciple of Antonio Jose.

SPAIN and the— WORLD

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MALAGA AND BEYOND

The fall of Malaga is one more step toward the complete betrayal of the Spanish people by the "democratic" Governments of France and England.

The yellow Press of this country is exploiting the situation in the usual manner. The "Sunday Express" Correspondent states that lists have been found whereby it can be proved that the "Reds" had massacred over 10,000 non-combatants within the last six months. Others talk of the relief expressed by the people of Malaga at the arrival of Franco and his hordes.

It is fortunate that a man of the standing of Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell, who refused to leave Malaga of his own accord, should have on various occasions expressed his opinion on the situation in Malaga under "Red" rule. Referring to the shooting of non-combatants he wrote to the "Times" that "on the closest estimate" he could make "there must have been some 500 odd of them in Malaga and the province." He concludes that "at least it may be pleaded that in Malaga they were fighting a rebellion; the crimes of the Right were the crimes of rebels."

For our part, words fail to express our true sentiments. We who cherish our personal liberty and that of others more than all the riches and publicity in the world, feel sick at heart that the world, that the generous peoples struggling for their emancipation, should be finally crushed by a handful of degenerates, and a clique of debauched Generals.

We are not discussing the fall of Malaga from a military point of view. We ask ourselves only to what depths the free minds of this country and abroad have been dragged to tolerate such hypocrisy as that of reading on the same day in the Press the news of the fall of Malaga, the active co-operation of thousands of Italian and German troops, of aeroplanes and battleships, and also the resolutions passed by the Non-Intervention Committee, that Committee of Irresponsible and archreactionaries whose sole aim is to crush the Workers' Spain.

Men and Women of England! Enough of these meetings and telegrams of sympathy! Action! Action and only Action! The people of Spain have resisted the Fascist onslaught for over six months. You can, by your immediate action, assure their complete victory. By your inaction, by your continued apathy, you will witness the greatest tragedy in the history of the working class struggle! You will be responsible for the dissemination of Fascism and intolerance in the rest of the world. You are now, by your apathy, by your blind faith in politicians, allowing them to wash their hands clean of all responsibility in Spain.

You watched Japanese aggression in China and were silent; you watched Mussolini send youth to Abyssinia to kill and to be killed for the sake of his own skin and filthy reputation. You could have stopped this. When Sanctions were becoming effective you allowed Eden to admit that they would serve to no purpose, and since then he has made of this country the laughing stock of the world.

That very same Eden declared in the House that Non-Intervention had failed, and shortly

(Continued at foot of next column)

"Militant Anarchism and Spanish Reality"

(Continued from page 1)

previous occasions, and this must not happen here. We prevented it by our participation in the general effort and by inspiring the revolution with a reconstructive spirit.

After a century of struggle and in the midst of the new struggle, we were ourselves at first overwhelmed by these practical tasks and unprepared for them. However, we were conscious of what had to be done, and here the speaker dealt with anarchist criticism far away, ignoring the pressure of the real situation, which is not that of a former civil war with forces equally equipped, but that of modern war with all its implements against an unarmed people. Mountains look smooth seen at a distance, but are rugged and cleft when we actually have to climb them.

Anarchists and Unity.

In the struggle against Fascism, the most terrible of dangers, we are all united, but it is essential to establish the bases of a similar unity after the war. They must concord with the Spanish character, nature, spirit and aspirations, and these imply the irreducible opposition of the people to a central, centralized power. The towns struggled against increasing royal power. Remember the *comuneros* of Castilia, the *germanos* of Valencia, the *Catalan segadores*. Personality and dignity are affirmed in front of power. All this is alive in Spain, is "constitutional with every Spaniard"; we all have the same racial sense of liberty and the same racial tendency to unite with others against oppression and humiliation. Dictatorships in Spain either were of the style of comic opera or are resisted by the rebellion of the people, which prefers death to slavery.

Some have said of Federico Montseny that she seemed to be more a disciple of Pi y Margall than of Bakunin, and had more in her of classic liberalism than of anarchism. She disavows Pi y Margall in no way, the thinker whose federalism represents a new political interpretation of Spain. Even Russia is a federation of socialist republics.

When the war is ended, public opinion will decide everywhere on the forms of political and economic union in New Spain, and all who are not unconsciously imperialists will agree to constitute the Iberian Federation of Socialist Republics, which gives to every region the right to shape its own life according to local economic and political possibilities.

A centre like Madrid could not even raise the level of Castilia, the provinces which surround it, whilst Catalonia and Vizcaya, the regions where autonomous local life is flourishing, reached a high level, and Extremadura, Andalusia, Galicia, Aragon and Levante (Valencia) will follow when there shall be federation and autonomy.

Economic Problems of New Spain.

Economically, Federico Montseny continued, a reconstruction on the basis of private property has become impossible. In those parts of Spain which the Fascists hold under their sway, agricultural work, sowing for the next harvest, is done scantily and badly, the only weapon of passive resistance left to the people. Work is done in Catalonia and Levante and some foodstuffs are imported from Russia, but who will feed a whole people in a devastated country when the war is over? Only the will of the workers can do that, if they willingly, in the interests of the Revolution, work eight, ten or twelve hours, doing efficient work and putting their heart in it. The old system, the political parties—all failed on July 18th because absolutely all who were "something" in Spain, from the officials in the ministries to the last of the generals, were involved in the factious inaction because it defended their interests.

The people, the masses, the workers of every shade of opinion, staked their lives in resistance, and this is not a passing feature. They claim Freedom and Right, and there is no

(Continued from previous column)

afterwards put a ban on volunteers.

People of England! Youth of England! Act before it is too late. Act before the greatest wave of reaction in history wipes Progress, Freedom and Culture from this earth.

other way out but economics directed by the workers by means of their organs of control, the syndicates. This leads forcibly to the economic unity of the workers of Spain, and the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. will have to make a joint effort to be organs of the new economic life—a unique attempt up to now. In Russia and in the United States—President Roosevelt's schemes—this is being done by a party dictatorship or by governmental power, whilst in Spain the workers will govern themselves, and, as they hold the economic power and can direct everything, they can do this, if they cultivate those two feelings, proper to we anarchists—the ethics of sacrifice and the feeling of responsibility.

War Nearing an End.

We are all participating in a great work and shall achieve it by means of that heroic tension which does the work of the Revolution. The war is visibly coming near to an end, but the more so we must resuscitate these feelings, the spirit of sacrifice and the consciousness of responsibility, that the armed victory be followed by political and economic victory. We could not destroy authority completely, as this would have meant the destruction of the anti-Fascist front in the present struggle. But men will now learn in a practical manner to do their duty in every direction without command, and without a Messianic leadership.

The anarchist credo is based on the sentiment of freedom and of human dignity. No god, no master and no



HARVESTING BEHIND THE LINES

leader. Nature joins us by love, and upon that basis we arouse the feeling of responsibility leading to everybody's enjoyment of all rights by his own proper right.

As always, we are acting as experimenters, with a unique situation before us, for neither the French nor the Russian Revolution are objects of comparison. By the spirit of sacrifice and of responsibility, giving all we have to give and doing our duty by our own inner impulse, we shall evade the fatality of dictatorship. We must have sufficient intelligence, tact, sense of individual and collective responsibility to carry out, ourselves, the work that is necessary for success. The world sees in us the example of a people which wants to be free, which confronts almost without weapons the privileged classes, Fascism, the capitalist mentality—an example to the Revolutionists of all countries. The responsibility which rests upon us must give us pride, courage, the greatest joy in our life, and decide us to make every sacrifice, to give everything for the realization of that enormous task, that dream. Let us be those who show the right way to all the peoples of the world who smart under the lash of Fascism. Let the Proletariat unite to obtain the elementary rights essential to all our work—bread and freedom for all!

The Essence of the Struggle.

Even this brief resumé of Federico Montseny's address allows one to visualize something of the real essence of the Spanish struggle—that revolt of upright men and women against brutes who want to make slaves of them, and as the Spanish capitalists choose to throw in their lot with the Fascist brutes, they fall with them, their reign comes to an end a little sooner than they may have expected, but it cannot be helped now.

As we have over and again shown

from Spanish history, it was inevitable that libertarians and all sincere friends of freedom should stand foremost in the struggle of defence, whilst the socialist authoritarians had only the choice to side along with the liberal and libertarian front. For they could not bring to a good end all the chances they had in Russia, 1917, in Italy since 1919, and in Germany from 1918 to 1932, and these three failures on the largest scale disqualify them. I refer here to the socialist or social democratic parties, whilst the communists, if Russia in 1937 is a powerful State, in any case did not produce a manner of social life which other peoples, the people of Spain at least, would wish to imitate. The libertarians on their side did what they could to avert these developments, but jointly communists and Fascists killed them or silenced them by internment, prison, deportation and exile; from Kropotkin, Malatesta, Galleani, interned or almost isolated, Landauer and Muhsam murdered; any number ruined in Arctic or Siberian exile and on the Italian penitentiary islands, all those whose lives are stunted and broken by enforced languishment in enslaved countries, the series of martyrs is endless. In Spain, since July, 1936, these libertarians had to choose between Fascism or authoritarian systems, the only ones which bourgeois, socialists and communists could have imposed. Who wonders that they stood up against all, ready, however, to join hands with those who also rose in arms to fight the Fascist invaders?

Anti-Fascists, Unite

END EXISTING DIFFERENCES

Through the initiative of the Peninsular Committee of the Anarchist Federation of Iberia, F.A.I., a general assembly was called for yesterday afternoon, at which representatives of all anti-Fascist sections of Catalonia were invited to take part in the discussions to end the division of the Marxian sectors because of existing differences in their polemics.

Much was said regarding the sacrifices made by each side in the struggle against Fascism, and in conclusion it was agreed by all that as a consequence of mutual interest in this battle an "indestructible unity" must be formed of all the anti-Fascist sectors, leaving aside differences in party tactics.

The Anarchist comrades have placed the question with clarity and precision before the other sectors, pointing out that, if they continued airing their differences in tactics, it would lead to asphyxiation of each other, which would be contrary to the purpose of the meeting.

It was emphasized that all sectors were faced with the threat of an arrogant and powerful enemy which could be fought victoriously only by a close union of all anti-Fascist organizations. After lengthy discussions, the representatives of all organizations have unanimously decided upon the importance of eliminating every poisonous and insulting campaign, either by mouth or press, against each other which might prejudice the mutual cause that all must defend. The revolution is too serious an event, to be placed in constant danger by differences of polemics. The common footing for the revolution can be assured in one way only: efficient defence against the attack of our common enemy and an "indestructible" unity of all enemies of reaction.

United in Fighting Fascism

It was suggested that it would be best, if it were possible, to unite all factions into one solid organization. But since it is for the present impossible to unite the different ideologies, they can at least unite upon a common programme in the fight against Fascism.

From this meeting two accords of interest have been reached. The first calls for another meeting for next Tuesday, at which all organizations will expound their viewpoints regarding the question of unity. The second provides that all organizations should refrain from any manifestations against one another that might irritate the relationship of all those who struggle with arms in hand in the battle field against Fascism.

The two accords have extraordinary importance. The revolution will gain by this a great deal. In Catalonia, July 19th was triumphant because the organizations, gave their first thought to the people in general who were threatened by Franco, Goded and company.

Integrally we are maintaining our revolutionary position. We do not renounce the propaganda of the ideas that are so dear to us. Nor are there restrictions to loyal and noble criticism of tactics that may appear mistaken either to one or the other.

We believe that to fight for the revolution, to work in industry and agriculture, to defend the rights of the proletariat and the future of the nation is perfectly compatible with the necessity of sustaining cordial relations with all parties, although for reasons of their interests and tactics—that may now divide them ideologically—they must necessarily combine their forces and be in the revolutionary fighting lines in order to defend their common cause against the menace of Fascism which equally threatens us all (Generalitat de Catalunya)

Anarchist Literature

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XXX

February 10th, 1937.

FRANCISCO FERRER

Barcelona Memorial To Founder Of The Modern School

On Sunday, January 17th, 1937, before the people of Barcelona, was solemnly inaugurated the marble tablet with the effigy of Ferrer and the following inscription:—

Plaza F. Ferrer Guardia

Founder of the Modern School

Shot on October 13th, 1909, for the cause of Liberty.

It is with such a simple act that Barcelona has expressed its gratitude to the one who devoted his whole life to the emancipation of the Spanish people.

F. Ferrer was born in 1856 at Alella of well-to-do parents who saw to it that he received a very catholic education. But at the age of twenty, already he was obliged to leave his father's home on account of his republican ideas. Following a rising at Santa-Coloma de Farnès, he sought refuge at Paris, where he acquired a very profound culture and exercised the profession of teacher.

It was then that he realized his vocation as a teacher and that he conceived the idea of his modern school. Thus, when an inheritance from Mlle. Meunier, an eccentric spinster who had been interested in Ferrer's schemes, enabled him to put his ideas into practice, he went to Spain and founded numerous schools based on nationalistic and libertarian principles. These schools met with a great success. At that time there existed in Spain only professional schools, generally under the direction of Jesuits. The child's mind was stifled in an atmosphere of hypocrisy and prejudice. Ferrer on the contrary wished to create of the child a man capable of reasoning for himself.

Teaching Absolutely Neutral

Teaching was to remain absolutely neutral. To have trained the child to oppose the government and the Church at an age when he could not yet understand the issues would have seemed to him an abuse of the child's liberty.

"First of all," he would say, "let us make our children—young people who are well instructed. Later, when they shall have become men, we shall strive to inculcate in them the ideals of emancipation which are so dear to us."

Like the really modern educationist he was, he had understood that a rigorous discipline prevents the child from developing, and leads to introversion. Thus, as Dr. Montessori afterwards prescribed, he insists that the child should have the utmost liberty. He wrote in the "Rénovation de l'Ecole," "Such progress will be made, in the direction of greater liberty, for I am convinced that constraint is only the excuse of reason and that the educator who is really worthy of the name will obtain all by spontaneity, for he will be aware of the needs and desires of the child, and he will know how to foster his development, merely by satisfying them to the utmost extent."

Thanks to such ideas, Ferrer's work developed wonderfully. Not only children, but adults followed the courses: 120 organizations had been started in the principal cities, spreading the new ideas broadcast. The Modern School had at its head a board of studies, composed of ed-

ucators, politicians, writers and scholars.

But the success of his school was attended by uneasiness in the Church and the forces of reaction. Thus the first pretext was seized to make the continuation of his work impossible for Ferrer. Such an opportunity was provided by the attempted assassination by Matteo Morral on the day of Alfonso XIII's marriage. As Morral had been employed three years previously as librarian in Ferrer's publishing office, the latter was accused of complicity. In spite of the faked trial for which he stood, he was acquitted, but the schools were closed.

Then Ferrer devoted all his energies to his publishing house as to make known throughout Spain the works of the great masters who had guided his thought, Reclus, Kropotkin and others.

The Rising of 1909

But tragic events were soon to come and put an end to his work. On July 26th and 27th, 1909, there were risings in all Catalonia and in Barcelona particularly, to protest against war

of human rights. Thousands of petitions were sent to the Spanish Government, but it had decided that Ferrer must perish, and the Government was regarded with indignation the whole world over.

It was impossible to find proofs against Ferrer, for he had in no way taken part in the rising, not through fear, but because he was not "revolutionary" in the sense of the word then prevailing. He did not believe in the usefulness of armed revolts to secure liberty.

"In order to change humanity's condition," he wrote in a letter, "there is nothing more urgent in my opinion than to establish an educational system such as we understand it, and which, bearing fruit, shall facilitate progress and make the realization of all generous ideals easier. That is why it seems to me that to work at this early date for the abolition of capital punishment, or for a general strike without knowing how we shall bring up our children, means beginning at the end and wasting our time."

As *The Spectator* wrote, one must see in him "a revolutionary such as Tolstoy, a reformer philosopher who wished to overthrow society, not with bombs, but with ideas." In spite of Ferrer's obvious innocence, he was condemned to death and executed in a ditch at Montjuich. He cried out before being shot "You there, you can do nothing. I am innocent. Long live the School."

His death, having aroused the indignation of all Europe, brought many partisans to his ideas, and so proved as fruitful as his life. Today the memory of Ferrer animates all revolutionary Spaniards. He wrote before his death "I desire that my friends shall speak little or not at all concerning me, for one creates idols when one exalts men, and this is a great evil for



OPEN AIR SCHOOL AT PUIGCERDA

being waged by Spain against Morocco, the onus of which was heavily borne by the working classes. The general strike became a revolt, there were many dead, innumerable Churches and Convents were destroyed.

The reprisals were terrible, and the occasion was not lost of accusing Ferrer. He was arrested on the capital charge of having caused the revolt. No proof could be found to justify the accusation, so it became necessary to have him tried by military tribunal where no normal judicial procedure was respected. All Europe rose indignant against this outrageous violation

of the future of humanity; actions alone, no matter who is the agent, must be studied, exalted or attacked.

This wish, so full of nobility, has been respected: it is the work of Ferrer which our comrades in Catalonia wish to continue; they wish to maintain in the schools that spirit which he had created. 60,000 children now receive the education which it would have been the dream of Ferrer to give them. By this immense educational effort, they are showing as Ferrer had pointed out, that to destroy was useless, unless one could create the real constructors of a future society.

MIL. B.

Camillo Berneri's Views

PROBLEMS OF THE STRUGGLE

The Military And Political Situation

It is no easy task to obtain Camillo Berneri's impressions on the Spanish struggle. He suddenly appears in Barcelona to edit the fortnightly newspaper of the Italian Syndical Union, "Guerra di Classe," and to be present at meetings, then suddenly disappears—perhaps to the front, or to Valencia.

Camillo Berneri, who is one of the best known exponents of Italian Anarchism since the death of Malatesta, Galleani and Fabbri, was, at an early age, University Professor in Philosophy, but in 1926 was forced to leave the country, when all professors in Italy had to become members of the Fascist Party or resign their posts, and since then his life has been made intolerable by imprisonment in France and Belgium and deportation from most countries in Europe. He is not a brilliant orator, but his revolutionary spirit has made of him a writer-propagandist of Anarchism. His works range from a biography of Mussolini to a psychological study of anti-semitism; from a study of Racial Madness to one dealing with attractive work.

Since the outbreak of the Revolution he has been in Spain giving to the workers' cause all the energy and experience of a militant whose active life has made of him a keen observer and constructive critic.

On this occasion we found him in his study in the Casa CNT-FAI, in Barcelona, and only after much persuasion were we able to induce him to grant us an interview.

The Military Situation.

The first question we put to him was with regard to the military situation as he saw it.

"I have no special competence to speak about this matter," he said. "I can only give you a few impressions that I formed at the Huesca Front, with which I am familiar, as I was there as a militiaman, as political delegate to the Italian section of the Ascaso column and now, as delegate to the *Comisaría de Defensa*, I visit this front from time to time. I have the impression that the militia has made great progress. At the beginning one noticed ingenuously in the actions of the militia faced with modern war equipment; for instance, the useless firing at aeroplanes flying at a great height. Transport arrangements were muddled, the road problem neglected, arms and ammunition were insufficient, badly co-ordinated, and sometimes the actions of the various arms and columns were not co-ordinated at all.

"Now, the Spanish militiamen give indications of having taken advantage of the lessons learned during these last few months, and transports are beginning to be rationalized, the roads are being repaired, arms and ammunition are more abundant and effective, and into the 'spirit in the column' is creeping the idea of the necessity of a co-ordinating command. Divisions are being formed which will complete the economic war plan which had been deemed necessary by the best known exponents of the CNT and FAI.

"It was, as a matter of fact, these two organisations which were the most convinced supporters of the necessity of a unity of command which would make it possible to exert pressure on the weak points in the enemy lines, diminish the pressure on besieged cities, and prevent the shifting and concentration of Fascist forces."

"Then," we observe, "there is some good in militarisation!"

"Certainly," Berneri answers with conviction, "but a distinction must be made: there is militarist formalism, which, besides being ridiculous, is perfectly useless and harmful, and there is discipline. *Iron Discipline* is the discipline found in the Durruti column. Military formalism is the one which is creeping into our columns controlled by the Unified Marxist Party (P.O.U.M.). When one affirms, as one does in the catalogue of the Uribarri Column, that the soldier who knows how to salute properly knows also how to fight, one is guilty of stupidity reminiscent of Frederick II or Peter the Great.

"For that reason also I believe the right policy must be the middle policy: one must not fall into militarist formalism nor bear repugnance for anti-militarist formalism. Accepting and realising all the necessary discipline required, we shall be able to cope with the manoeuvres of Madrid and Moscow, tending to strengthen in name of the necessities of militarisation, the military hegemony of the Spanish revolution; instrument of political hegemony.

"For my part I think it a mistake to talk, as some exponents of the CNT-FAI do of supreme com-

mand instead of unified command. The intention is good, but the term used lends itself to dangerous misunderstandings.

Reforms Necessary in the Militia.

"In brief, then, the reforms necessary in the militia, from my point of view, should be the following: the constitution of divisions; clear distinction between military command and political control in the field of preparation and execution of war operations; iron discipline in carrying out orders, but conservation of certain fundamental rights: those of nominating and degrading officers."

At this juncture the following question comes spontaneously to our lips: "What do you think of the internal political situation as regards the stand taken up by the CNT and the FAI?"

"The necessity of a 'union sacrée' of all anti-Fascists has led Spanish Anarchism to consider as 'comrades' many of yesterday's enemies and to take upon themselves governmental responsibilities. It is no easy matter to assess the liabilities and assets derived from this experiment, but I think that there are to-day sufficient elements to make one worry about the Russian-Bolshevik infiltration in the military and technical spheres besides the hegemonic objective of the Marxist parties. The exclusion of the P.O.U.M. from the new Government can only mean one of two things: either the CNT was unable to impose its own will or did not want to. In the former case, one confirms, it strengthens the hegemonic tendencies of the Marxist parties. In the latter case, it shows a certain deviation of the CNT. The situation is dangerous, but I hope that we shall successfully overcome it, as amongst the Spanish Anarchists there are not lacking those men who have a clear idea of the necessity of returning as soon as possible to the right path."

Progress of Collectivization.

"As regards Collectivization, is it making progress?"

"It is progressing to a great extent, as you can ascertain for yourself; and they are ignorant or people of bad faith who, as do certain dissident communists, speak and write of the 'standstill' in the Social Revolution in Spain, or portray the Spanish anarchists as moderates, whilst in reality collectivization is being extended and strengthened in those regions, such as Catalonia and the Levante, where Anarchists have the greatest influence.

"If there is on the Left a 'moderate' faction, its representatives are members of the Right wing of Social-democracy and the Communist Party. For us the struggle is between Fascism and Libertarian-Communism. For the 'Moderates' it is a struggle between Fascism and Democracy. Though the political horizons are distinct and opposed, the plan of battle joins all Left factions. Our problem is to see that the 'comrades' of opposition do not betray the Social Revolution in Spain."

Continued on Page 4, Col. 4.

In Badajoz—Under Fascist Rule

MALTREATMENT OF WOMEN & CHILDREN

The following letter, which has been received by a Madrid paper, shows clearly the state of affairs in Badajoz. The letter is sent from Tangers.

"Dear Don Fernando—Before leaving here, where I have been re-united with my sons and grandchildren, I want to tell you something of the things which have happened to my son Jacinto and a man who accompanied him to look for the children, and some of the crimes committed by the fascists.

"Jacinto and I were detained in Badajoz because of passport difficulties with the Portuguese and when the fascists arrived in the place they met them in an hotel.

"Believing them to be suspects, they were going to shoot them, but they explained that the object of their journey was to get women and chil-

dren who were detained in Medina and Campo at the beginning of the movement. They would have been set free had not the proprietor of the hotel at Badajoz said that, on asking questions of the Badajoz authorities, the women and children were there, with the director of a republican newspaper. Then they were thrown into a dirty prison without permitting them to take more than they were wearing, without blankets, mattresses or bed clothes of any description. There they were kept for three months, sleeping on the floor.

"The servant who brought them their meals from the hotel was constantly told that she must not bring them anything as they were going to be shot. 'These Reds must die like dogs,' she was told.

"Jacinto's little sons, who came with the servant to the prison, were not

allowed to see their father. The warders jeered at the prisoners and insulted the women. Several times, on bringing the mid-day meal, the girl was told not to bring the supper as the prisoners were to be up against the wall and that that evening. When Jacinto finally left the prison he was covered with vermin, afflicted with a skin disease and also bronchitis, which has never been cured. I contracted a nervous disease which may have very grave consequences."

Owing to lack of space the concluding instalment of *Revelation: Of Certain Misconceptions Concerning Libertarian Communism* (by Isaac Puente) has been carried over to the next issue.—Ed.

American Democracy Knives Demos

In Spain

REPUBLICS' ATTITUDES TO THE STRUGGLE

Deportation Of Political Refugees

At the opening of the Pan-American Conference at Buenos Aires, last December, President Roosevelt spoke with great feeling about American Democracy, its hopes, and the influence it should radiate all over the world. Rhetorical Democracy has certainly a good place in Rooseveltian politics. How about practical Democracy?

Practical American Democracy has had a good chance to show itself, during the last seven months, in its dealing with the Democratic Republic Government of Spain. Spain is a small country, in Europe, but its influence in America is great. Eighteen of America's twenty-one sovereign Republics speak its language; one speaks Portuguese—and Portugal is bound to Spain by a common frontier and a common destiny—and over all of them, the largest and by far the most powerful one—the United States—has vital and widespread economic interests. Whatever happens in Spain, in the political, social and cultural fields, is therefore bound to have prompt repercussions this side of the Atlantic.

The American Republics pride themselves on being Democratic. This reason, besides the ethical and economical reason, makes it all the more interesting to know how American Democracy has reacted towards the present internal conflict of the Spanish people against its own domestic reactionary generals and aristocrats, aided and abetted by Italian, German and Portuguese Fascism to the extent of an actual armed invasion.

That the Government existing in Spain on July 17th—at the time of the military pronouncement—and thereafter, was, and is, a legitimate and constitutional government within the meaning of political democracy, is hardly debatable. Up to November 4th it was composed exclusively of members of the parties which won a majority in the Cortes in the February elections; and be it remembered that those elections took place under the control of a Government manned by the same parties which are now upholding the Franco Rebellion. Since November 4th a few minor places in the Spanish Cabinet have been given to representatives of the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, but this fact, very far from changing the constitutional and democratic character of such Government, makes it all the more representative of the people on account of the numerical importance of the C.N.T. Furthermore, this organization was actively supporting the winning leftist bloc in the February elections.

The Republic Deserved American Support

If the American Democracies ever felt bound to support any sister Democracy in its hour of need, the Spanish Republic deserved such support when it was struck by the revolt and mutiny of General Franco and his followers in July, 1936; and more so, when it appeared beyond the shadow of a doubt that the Italian, German and Portuguese dictatorships were sending the "rebels" arms, ammunition, aeroplanes and troops. Spain was in July, and is to this day, a democracy in the truest sense of the word, a government elected by the people, supported by the people—no one contests that by far the largest majority of the Spaniards are fiercely opposed to Franco and his junta—fighting at the same time against an internal military rebellion and a foreign invasion, for its right to independence, and self-determination.

Whether the political, economical and moral aims of this Spanish democracy are approved or are not approved by the American Democracies should be of no consequence. This should be a matter for the Spanish people to resolve and decide, and so long as in the solution of this problem the Spanish people do not interfere with other people's equal rights, no one, be it Fascist or anti-Fascist, has any right to interfere. On the contrary, it should be the task of all true democrats to see to it that no such interference occurs.

Spain No Longer Treated as Friendly Government

As it appeared, American Democracy never felt such obligation towards the sister Republic of Spain. No sooner had the July pronouncement of the reactionary followers of General Franco been made known than the Republics of America, as if by previous accord, ceased to deal with

the constitutional Government of Spain as with a friendly Government. They gave their diplomatic relations with it an obvious note of hostility. They refused to let it buy needed war materials within their own borders. They practically imposed a commercial blockade upon loyalist Spain. They harassed it consistently with all sorts of difficulties. Some of them broke off diplomatic relations with the Madrid Government altogether. Uruguay, for many decades considered the most progressive democracy on this Continent, was the first to break off diplomatic relations with Madrid, on September 22nd. El Salvador and Guatemala followed suit in November; Nicaragua recognized the Burgos Junta early in December; two weeks before the Mussolini and Hitler Dictatorships.

Of all the American Republics, only three have taken a more or less friendly attitude towards the Spanish people and their Government fighting for their lives and liberties: Mexico, which has courageously continued to deal with Madrid as a friendly Government, allowing it to buy arms and ammunition within its borders; Costa Rica, whose government assisted the newly named diplomatic representative of Spain to take possession of the Spanish Legation in San Jose, against former Minister who had passed to the Rebels and refused to vacate the premises (November 28th); and Santo Domingo, whose Chargé d'Affaires in Madrid offered, late in November, to take charge of a certain number of orphans of the Spanish civil war to be reared and educated by his country's Government.

All the others have shown themselves consistently inimical to the Spanish people and Government.

On all occasions; at first under pretext of protecting their nationals in Spain; then under pretext of humanizing the civil war, as for instance during the siege of the Toledo Alcazar when, through the weakness of the Madrid Government, they succeeded in having things protracted to the exclusive advantage of the rebels. That was a sentimental blunder. The lives of the women and children in the Alcazar were no more sacred than the lives of women and children in Badajoz—where they were massacred by the score—and Madrid, where they have been bombarded by the hundred.

Frontiers Open to Fascists: Anti-Fascists Deported

And then there was the "right of asylum" intrigue. The worthy diplomats representing American States in Spain, at the beginning of the civil war, opened their extra-territorial residences to as many fascists or fascist sympathizers as had no refuge from the loyalists, after they had lost in the fight. Thousands of them, caught red-handed in the conspiracy against the lawful Government of their country, found refuge in foreign Embassies. As long as the Ambassadors saw fit to remain in their places all was well. But when it became dangerous to do so, the problem rose as to how such refugees were to be protected after the diplomatic immunity should cease. The diplomats kept on long bickerings as to the ways and means to assure safe departure of their wards from Spain; and took high sounding attitudes as true defenders of the sacred right of asylum.

Now this high sounding sentimental attitude was a mere smokescreen to give help to the rebels by making trouble for the Government. Nowhere, with the possible exception of the Fascist countries, is the right of asylum less respected than in the American republics. While in Europe undesirable hosts are generally expelled by such countries as deem them to be obnoxious, on this side of the Atlantic deportation is the rule—and deportation means that the undesirable person is forcibly delivered by the deporting country into the hands of the Government from whose jurisdiction the deportee comes, without regard for the latter's status in that country, or for the consequences of such an act. Political refugees from all countries have been so delivered into the hands of their political enemies. No American Republic is clean of this crime, not even Mexico which has lately shown a more civilized and human inclination to give asylum to political refugees.

Refugees Deported

Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, the United States, have from time to time deported anti-Fascist refugees, for instance, to Italy and Germany, there to meet whatever punishment the dictators saw fit to inflict on them. The Italian Islands in the Tyrrhenian Sea, the German Concentration Camps, still contain victims of such deportation, persons, be it remembered who were not guilty of any crime in the country which deported them—for they would have been tried and sentenced in such a case—but simply professed opinions objected to by the Democratic Governments of America. Hugo Fedeli, deported from Uruguay with four others; N. Recchi deported from Argentina together with many another, are among the victims of this utter disregard for the right of asylum.

In the United States the same thing happens. Scores of political undesirable, generally refugees from the persecution of their countries' despots, are at this very moment threatened with deportation.

As for the Latin American countries, at the same time when their diplomats were intriguing in Spain in order to harass the Spanish Government, their Governments at home were planning an agreement for mutual deportation of political refugees. Wrote L. Lore in the "New York Post," which is a Rooseveltian Democratic paper: "Heretofore, political refugees from Peru who fled to Bolivia were not sent back to their native land. The plan is now to deliver every refugee to his home dictator on request. It is not necessary to explain," concluded Mr. Lore, "what this means to hundreds upon hundreds of Latin-American fighters against brutal fascism."

Now, it takes more than any conceivable share of human naivete to believe in the sincerity of these countries' diplomats when they heat themselves up about the "right of asylum" for the Spanish Fascists who have taken refuge under the protection of their embassies' immunity. What they mean is not respect for the right of asylum, which their Governments throttle at home, but immunity for the enemies of the Spanish people, the militarist and Fascist plotters against its right to self-determination and independence.

(To be continued.)

M. S.

HOPE!



FRANCO NOT SIDING WITH THE RICH

—Says Cardinal Goma

"Priest is Something Superhuman and Supernatural"

The Archbishop of Toledo (Cardinal Goma) has sent a touching reply to Senor Aguirre, President of the Autonomous Government of Euzkadi, who attacked the Hierarchy of the Church in a recent speech. Unfortunately, so carried away was the Cardinal by his own fine words that he lost touch with the truth. Amongst choice phrases I can but select a few owing to limited space.

The Cardinal quite blandly states that:

"Franco has not taken sides with the rich. He upholds in every shape and form the necessity for social justice and tens of thousands have enlisted under him."

Why is it then, we ask, that whenever Franco's Christian gentlemen capture a town they arrest and shoot all those workmen who possess a trade union card? Surely these men represent those to whom, according to the Cardinal, justice must be done.

In answer to Senor Aguirre's question concerning the shooting of Catholic priests by the Nationalists, Cardinal Goma bemoans this sad affair, but adds that:

"We also feel horror for the acts that have placed priests before the firing squad, as priests ought to devote themselves to religious matters and not to political matters of any sort."

What hypocrisy! To think that in Spain the Church has dictated all political questions for years; has always sided with the armed forces against the people whom it was supposed to comfort, and now this Cardinal has the cool cheek to make such remarks. His definition of a priest is amusing:

"To me more than to anybody the violent deaths of these priests have been a great pain, a great horror. The shooting of a priest is something terrible, because it means the shooting of something that is joined to God and therefore superhuman and supernatural—something that should be immune against crime and against the action of human justice made only to punish human crime."

I believe there is only one other super-man alive to-day, and that is Mussolini, who makes all school children learn that "Mussolini is always right."

Another passage reads:

"And I am all the more terrified, because I love them, to think that one of these days I may see the churches

turned into stores or barracks, the priests murdered, the holy relics and the Holy Cross mocked and insulted, and Our Lady of Begonia losing that smile which is the joy of the great city. This is not, unfortunately, a mad nightmare, because it is a terrifying reality in so many places in Spain."

Several prominent people have, in fact, reported that the Churches are being used as armed fortresses... not by the Reds but by those very reverend gentlemen who are raising their hands in despair at the thought of what Spain will be like when men and women have their liberty; when they no longer will be subjected to the will of a corrupt body of clergy.

Then to the most moving part of the appeal:

"I ask you to consider all these questions calmly and with reflection, Senor Aguirre, and since you are a staunch Catholic this poor Spanish people, who feels terribly the mistakes which are tearing Spaniards to pieces."

Certainly not "poor" if like his brothers the Bishops of Madrid and Vich, who between them left behind a mere million pounds when they had to leave their respective palaces in a hurry.

The Cardinal's appeal may touch the hearts of some of the readers of the "Universe," who rely on that newspaper exclusively for their education. But to those who have carefully followed the intrigues of the Church, it carries no weight.

The "Universe" has collected for our benefit the fine, hollow words of the hierarchy of the Church, but so long as this body sides with Reaction and subjects the people of a nation to its backward teachings, few clear-thinking people will attach any importance to its humanitarian appeals.

The "Reds" in Spain, the "Anti-Christ" forces, are destroying a corrupt and unjust society, and replacing it by one in which all human beings will have equal rights to an existence. This they are doing, not for any advantage they might derive in a vague future spiritual world, but because they have that sense of solidarity, which in Biblical language, has been translated as "love for one's neighbour," and which is, unfortunately, conspicuously absent amongst Christians, and the hierarchy of the Church.

LIBERTARIAN.

Camillo Berneri's View

Continued from Page 3, Col. 5.

Stupid and Cowardly Behaviour.

Comrade Berneri is about to leave us, and we hurriedly put a final question to him: "What do you think of the behaviour of the Popular Front Government of France with regard to the intervention policy of Rome and Berlin?"

"It is stupid and cowardly. The Fascists bombard Port-Bou, an international station, and the French Government sends no more trains to that station. Another bombardment of an Air France aeroplane and no French aeroplane will land in Spain. Now, France is about to prevent anti-Fascists from going to fight in Spain, whilst the Governments of Mussolini and Hitler will continue to send men, arms, aeroplanes and munitions to the Fascist forces. A definite policy of support for the Spanish government would have made it possible for the anti-Fascist militia to rapidly crush the Fascist insurrection. The French Government continues to think mistakenly of the possibilities of a neutrality which constitutes the best support possible for the triple alliance: Franco-Mussolini-Hitler. Only a vast and decisive popular action in France and England could force the respective governments to adopt less stupid policies."

Barcelona.

D.L.

1. In case the meaning is not clear, we think it well to give concrete examples showing the difference. Supreme Command is a Marshal Foch during the war; one who decides for everybody. Unified Command exists when all sectors are united, joined by the most rapid means of communication and unanimous on the tactics to be adopted.—Ed.

• GUERRA DI CLASSE (24th post free) and "Le Juit Anti-Semite" by Camillo Berneri (1/3 post free) can be obtained from "SPAIN AND THE WORLD".

FRANCO FIGHTS CULTURE

Rector of University Sentenced To Death

Following the news that the fascists have condemned to death Leopoldo Alas, Rector of Oviedo University, the following telegram has been sent by the Rector of the University of Catalonia, Dr. P. Bosch Gimpera, to the Rectors of the principal universities of the world, to the General Secretary of the League of Nations, and the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in Paris.

"According to press notices, the Rector of the University of Oviedo, Leopoldo Alas, eminent personality in Spanish science, has been condemned to death. He was actually outside all politics; neither is it made clear in the press notices that he committed any crime. The Rector of the University of Barcelona calls the attention of his foreign colleagues to this, asking them that for the international solidarity of the sciences, they will interest themselves in the fate of this colleague, and ask the governments of their countries that they will negotiate to have the execution stopped."

Once more the fascists demonstrate quite clearly that the "New Spain," of fascist imagination, would not only be a land of oppression for all liberty-loving peoples, but a land without culture.

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